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FOR FRANK WISNER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S FACE THE NATION INTERVIEW

FOLLOWING IS EXTRACT PERTAINING TO AFRICAN MATTERS FROM TEXT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S INTERVIEW OCTOBER 24, 1976 ON "FACE THE NATION":

Q: MR. HERMAN: LET ME TURN YOU TOWARDS ONE OF YOUR OWN MORE PERSONAL PIECES OF WORK, AND THAT HAS BEEN TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE IN RHODESIA. THAT MATTER IS NOW IN THE FORUM AT GENEVA, AND A NUMBER OF COMMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER THAT THE KISSINGER PLAN, AS IT HAS SOMETIMES BEEN CALLED-I THINK YOU PREFER TO CALL IT THE KISSINGER-CALLAGHAN, OR THE CALLAGHAN-KISSINGER-BUT IN ANY CASE THAT THE KISSINGER PLAN IS DEAD.

IS IT, HAVE WE LOST OUT ON THAT, WHATEVER SHARE OR INTEREST WE HAD IN IT?

A: SECRETARY KISSINGER: FIRST, LET US GET CLEAR WHAT IT IS WE WERE TRYING TO DO. UNCLASSIFIED

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WE WERE TRYING TO STOP THE DRIFT TOWARDS RACIAL CONFLICT.

E WERE TRYING TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE THAT IN THE JUDGMENT OF ALL KNOWLEDGEABLE PEOPLE WAS INEVITABLE IN ANY EVENT, EXCEPT WITH MUCH MORE BLOODSHED. WE WERE TRYING TO LIMIT THE INFLUENCE OF ALL OUTSIDE COUNTRIES, INCLUDING OUR OWN, ON THE EVOLUTION IN AFRICA.

I BELIEVE WE HAVE A GOOD CHANCE OF ACHIEVING ALL OF THESE OBJECTIVES.

THE PARTICULAR TERMS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT IN ORDER TO GET THE PROCESS STARTED COULD WELL BE MODIFIED IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

Q: MR. HERMAN: YOU DO NOT TAKE MR. SMITH AT HIS WORD WHEN HE SAYS IT IS THE KISSINGER PLAN, ALL OR NOTHING?

A: SECRETARY KISSINGER: I BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE HERE FIVE PARTIES NEGOTIATING WITH EACH OTHER THAT HAVE BEEN FIGHTING EACH OTHER FOR ELEVEN YEARS, BETWEEN WHOM THERE IS ENORMOUS DISTRUST, EACH OF WHICH HAS A CONSTITUENCY TO WHICH THEY MUST APPEAL.

I BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVEN'T EVEN STARTED YET. IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE MUST BE SOME ROOM FOR NEGOTIAIION. THERE WILL BE MANY EXALTED STATEMENTS OF AN EPIC NATURE IN THE PROCESS OF THE NEGOTIATION. I THINK THE CHANCES ARE BETTER THAN EVEN THAT THEY WILL SUCCEED UNLESS SOME RADICAL ELEMENTS TAKE OVER THE PROCESS AND MAKE DEMANDS THAT CANNOT BE MET.

Q: MR. HERMAN: LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT ONE NOT SO EXALTED SET OF STATEMENTS THAT HAS BEEN MADE; THAT IS, THE -- WELL, I HAVE TO BACK INTO IT A LITTLE BIT.

YOU HAVE TOLD US THAT YOU CONSULTED WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF THE BLACK COUNTRIES ON THE BORDERS OF RHODESIA AND THAT THE PLAN WAS WORKED OUT IN FULL CONSULTATION, AT LEAST UNCLASSIFIED

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AS I UNDERSTAND IT, WITH THEM.

THEY ARE NOW SAYING--OR SOME OF THEM ARE NOW SAYING, THEIR LEADERS ARE NOW SAYING--THAT THAT IS NOT SO, THAT THE PLAN THAT YOU DISCUSSED WITH THEM IS NOT THE PLAN AS OUTLINED BY MR. SMITH, AND THE QUESTION COMES UP AS TO WHO STRUCK JOHN? WHO IS TELLING THE TRUTH? DID YOU PRESENT THEM WITH A PLAN? ARE THEY EXAGGERATING THE DIFFERENCES?

A: SECRETARY KISSINGER: I THINK EVERYBODY IS TELLING THE TRUTH. WE HAD THREE AMERICAN AND TWO BRITISH MISSIONS IN AFRICA BEFORE I WENT THERE ON THAT LAST SHUTTLE.

THE MAIN LINES OF THE IDEAS TO BE PRESENTED TO SMITH WERE DISCUSSED WITH AT LEAST THOSE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS THAT WERE REACHED BY THESE MISSIONS AND THAT I HAD A CHANCE TO TALK TO PERSONALLY.

IN ADDITION, MR. SMITH ADDED A FEW CONSIDERATIONS OF HIS OWN WHICH IT SEEMED TO US IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR HIM TO PUT FORWARD FORMALLY AND PERMIT THEM TO BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION, RATHER THAN WAIT UNTIL THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, OR WHEREVER THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE, AND THEN CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE WAS SOME SORT OF SECRET UNDERSTANDING.

WE DID OUR BEST TO CHECK THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROPOSALS. AND THE ESSENCE OF THE FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN ACCEPTED. THERE ARE SEVERAL DETAILS ABOUT WHICH THERE IS DISPUTE, AS YOU WOULD EXPECT.

SO, I THINK THAT EVERYBODY IS TELLING THE TRUTH AND EVERYBODY HAS DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCIES TO WHOM THEY MUST APPEAL IN THE PROCESS OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT.

Q: MR. SCHIEFFER: DR. KISSINGER, GOVERNOR CARTER SEEMS TO AGREE WITH YOUR EFFORTS IN AFRICA, BUT HE SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE TIMING OF YOUR TRIP THERE AND YOUR SHUTTLE HAD A LITTLE SOMETHING TO DO WITH AN ELECTION COMING UP IN THE UNITED STATES. IS THAT A UNCLASSIFIED

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VALID CRITICISM TO MAKE?

A: SECRETARY KISSINGER: WHEN I FIRST WENT TO AFRICA IN APRIL, I THINK IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT IT DID NOT HAVE THE UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF MANY MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND IT WAS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN, AND THERE WAS MUCH CRITICISM THAT WE DID THIS.

WE DID IT BECAUSE WE THOUGHT IT WAS IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. IF MATTERS HAD BEEN PERMITTED TO DRIFT, IT WAS OUR JUDGMENT, IT WAS THE JUDGMENT OF EVERY KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSON, THAT THINGS WOULD BE OUT OF CONTROL BY THE MIDDLE OF NEXT YEAR, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN THE NEXT TIME ANYBODY COULD HAVE GOTTEN AHOLD OF

IT, OR BY EARLY NEXT YEAR, SINCE THE TIME AFTER THE ELECTION, WHOEVER WINS, WILL HAVE TO BE DEVOTED IN PART TO RESTRUCTURING ADMINISTRATIONS, AND SO FORTH. IT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. AND IT HASN'T BEEN USED IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, EITHER. KISSINGER

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